

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

SALUTI AI NOSTRI LETTORI ITALIANI

"PEACE NEWS" è pubblicato in Inghilterra, ma è letto in ogni parte del mondo. Speriamo di guadagnare in futuro un maggior numero di amici in molte altre nazioni, all'ideale al quale "Peace News" è dedicato: ideale che non potrà essere realizzato se non quando una sostanziale unità dell'umanità prevarrà sulla discordia che divide oggi i vari stati.

Noi auspichiamo il sorgere di un'umanità da cui sia bandita ogni lotta fratricida per dar luogo a una fraterna comunione degli spiriti. Nella speranza che il nostro giornale possa interessarvi, vi inviamo i nostri fraterni saluti da parte di "Peace News" e del movimento di cui è organo.

NO TIME TO THINK?

IN the political lull of the holiday period, when Parliaments close down and diplomats fold their portfolios and steal away to distant sunshine and warm seas, and when newspapers turn to sport, fashion and sensationalism for the ingredients of their dietetic displays, a fitting opportunity is provided for the Peace News Commentator to reflect on these deeper issues which the political hurly-burly of our times tends to side-track, to the final undoing of nations and civilisation.

Perhaps the greatest need of our age is to revive the lost art of meditation. For 50 years we have been rushing from one material conquest to another, raising our material standards of living by every device

COMMENTARY by WILFRED WELLOCK

of science and cunning, in complete disregard of spiritual aims and principles. In consequence, the life of individuals and of societies is disintegrating throughout the world, while an intoxicated materialism is rapidly destroying the very values for which humanity has sacrificed its soul.

Thus today we are in possession of mountains of money which our reckless spending and living has rendered useless, money from which we fashion things we may not use, weave what we may not wear, produce guns instead of bread, build atomic piles instead of houses and homes, and turn our precious food acres into military training grounds and bombing sites.

These things are happening under the aegis of a Labour Government, whose forerunners preached a gospel of responsible, satisfying service, of personal restraint, of fellowship, disarmament and peace. Its excuse is necessity, the unreasonableness of certain neighbours. It appears to have forgotten that the seeds of war are embedded in the feverish pursuit of markets, raw materials and food (all of which are in short supply), in the interest of unpremeditated ends.

The enigma of Cripps

SIR Stafford Cripps' Belfast speech of Aug. 11 was a landmark in that it was a brave confession of failure and, be it noted, of spiritual failure, in our production achievements.

In some ways Sir Stafford is the most enigmatic figure in British politics. Outstandingly honest and

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

These Men will Refuse to Register

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN U.S.A.

"Conscription Means War"

From our Special Correspondent

NEW YORK.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS THE REPLY OF HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN WAR RESISTERS TO THE CONSCRIPTION LAWS WHICH COME INTO EFFECT IN USA THIS MONTH.

THIS is the first time America has had conscription except under war conditions. The present law makes some provision for conscientious objection. But the Peacemakers Group, with headquarters in Fifth Avenue, New York, is calling upon its followers to refuse to register, and pacifist cells have been organised throughout the Union, each of them pledged to resist conscription without compromise.

Next Sunday, the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, New York's most beloved clergyman, will, with the support of ninety-nine other ministers, lead a National Day of Mourning and Repentance to mark the introduction of peace-time conscription in the USA.

WEEK OF PREPARATION

Throughout next week, many pacifists will devote themselves to prayer, meditation and fasting in preparation for the struggle which begins on Aug. 30. Aug. 30 is the day when the first age-groups will be called upon to register.

Dr. Fosdick is not a "non-registrant," but he has signed a statement declaring that it would be "disastrous if peace-time conscription were accepted without protest and without persistent witness against the evils which it entails."

The radical Peacemakers Group is led by Dwight Macdonald, David Dallinger, Roy C. Kepler and A. J. Muste.

Following a Week of Re-dedication, the members affected by the Aug. 30 call-up will abstain from registration and await prosecution by the Government; as other age-groups are called, other pacifists will join the protest.

War resisters in USA are hardening in their opposition to the sort of

alternative service which was allotted to pacifists during the recent war.

"Non-registration seems to us the only effective way to protest against this violation of freedom," the Peacemakers Group declares in a statement to the Press. "Conscription will lead to war."

The New York Times and the New York World Telegram have both carried vigorous editorials condemning Dr. Fosdick as well as the Peacemakers. "Public interest is growing now that draft resistance is getting put before more people," Roy C. Kepler said in a statement to Peace News this week.

IN BRITAIN:

Twelve Months' for Schoolboy One Month for Teacher

Fourteen conscientious objectors are at present in Britain's prisons—serving sentences ranging from one to twelve months. They refuse to prepare for war.

"I HAVE no intention of paying," Kenneth Rosewarne recently told the Pontefract magistrates on being fined £5 for not obeying a direction to take up landwork as an alternative to military service.

A handicraft teacher at Ackworth School, Kenneth Rosewarne is taking a similar stand to that of members of The Peacemakers in the USA.

He has been sent to prison for one month.

Peter Green, schoolboy objector from Plaistow was recently sent to prison for twelve months.

GERMAN AIRMAN WHO WOULD NOT BOMB BRITAIN

Had Been Here As Schoolboy Guest

HOW German airmen, who had learned to love England as a result of schoolboy exchange visits before 1939, refused to bomb this country during the war was revealed by Dr. Hermann Thiemke, a master at the Berlin Zehlendorf Oberrealschule, in a recent interview with a Peace News reporter.

"One young airman sent to bomb Liverpool, where he had been entertained as a schoolboy, flew at 900 metres in order not to hit any private homes. Another was a night fighter-pilot, who refused orders to take part in operations over England. He consented only to fly in defence of Germany," Dr. Thiemke explained.

IN AFRICA

He also mentioned another former student who had charge of a POW camp for British officers in North Africa. He had done all he could to lighten their lot.

Dr. Thiemke's students made their first visit to England 18 years ago. Since then, there was an annual exchange of visits between his school and the grammar school at Wallasey, Cheshire. The boys lived in the homes of their hosts and took part in communal activity, sporting and cultural. The experiment, which proved a pronounced success, was interrupted by the war, in which boys on both sides fell.

This summer Dr. Thiemke has been in England, and has completed plans for a resumption of exchange between Wallasey Grammar School and his own school. This time girls are also to be included in the scheme.

What the New Mark means to Germans

INTELLECTUALS NEAR STARVATION

By CORDER CATCHPOOL

CONFUSION has followed the revaluation of the German currency and the circulation of a new Deutsche Mark in the Western Zones.

The few shops which have survived or have been salvaged from the bombing present an unwelcome aspect. Formerly standing empty, or displaying things for show or exchange only, or available against dockets unobtainable by the great majority, they are now replete with goods and food for sale. It may be only a temporary appearance, due to the release of hoarded stocks; we must wait and see.

Salaries and wages are being paid in the new currency, generally it seems at the old rates, though there is fear that these will be reduced. Wage-earners are thus for the first time since the end of the war able to buy in the shops without resort to the Black Market, now greatly restricted as a result of the new measures, or to "hamstering." This is a source of satisfaction to all decent people; and the mere sight of full shop windows may to some extent account, even amongst those who still have not

money enough to buy more than the barest minimum, for the general sense of relief which has been noted.

MANY UNEMPLOYED

Whole classes of people, however, such as students, who can no longer study, pension-holders, those living mainly on past savings, the large numbers thrown into unemployment, and many other categories, are worse off than before. Newspapers, especially those which appeal to a particular clientele, such for instance as Das Andere Deutschland for the peace cause, suffer through loss of subscribers who can no longer pay even the small sum required for a weekly periodical. Members of the medical and allied professions find that patients cannot afford to pay fees, and private clinics are having to close.

Beyond all this, some observers expect an economic collapse within a matter of months. The whole future is still full of uncertainty. One thing only can be said with assur-

ance, that the imperative need to end the fantastic conditions prevailing before the introduction of the new currency was universally admitted. The general complaint is that measures were taken too late, and that all details were decided and imposed by the Occupying Powers.

For the present, continuing concern for our German friends, some of whom write quite desperately, is called for under the new currency, as it was under the old.

From Bad Pyrmont, Elizabeth Fox Howard has addressed the following letter to the Editor of The Friend:

"My own impression is that there has been widespread fear and distress, especially among the old, the refugees, those who have depended on their small savings. . . . Many parents can no longer pay for their children's education, and students are leaving the universities in large numbers. The black market has only partially disappeared, and people are parting with their belongings in exchange for food as before. True, there are far more goods in the shops, and the level of rationing is higher, but comparatively few can afford the high prices. . . ."

In the long run, these severe currency measures will be beneficial for the whole German economy, but, like a surgical operation, the effects for some time to come must be painful and distressing.

TO SUFFER AND PREVAIL

IT was the most eminent of Victorian Christians, Cardinal Newman, who said that what was "so grandly original" in Christianity was that its preachers were "to be simply unarmed, to suffer, but to prevail."

The words come from Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, where he went on to explain: "According to our Lord's announcements before the event, Christianity was to prevail and to become a great empire, and to fill the earth, but it was to accomplish this destiny, not as other victorious powers had done... but by the novel expedient of sanctity and suffering."

Newman had a wonderful gift for clear expression. Here he not only makes plain the "grandly original" message of Christianity, but puts the alternative to force quite bluntly. That alternative is suffering. Many advocates of pacifism use sentimental or equivocal language when they speak of the alternative to force. But there is no disguising the fact that the path of peace, like the path of the early Christians who were pacifists, is a hard one, harder perhaps than war.

Suffering. It is his acceptance of suffering that distinguished the pacifist from the advocates of "appeasement," from "peace-loving diplomats" and from all those thousands, even millions, of people who will make so many sacrifices for peace, but "not too many." What is "original"—in Newman's words—about pacifism is that it draws no line beyond which it will resort to force. This is the weakness of pacifism in its appeal to what is sometimes called common sense, but it is also the strength of pacifism in its appeal to a world in the throes of a terrifying crisis.

The present crisis is the product of fear. Russia fears the capitalists attack on the territory she has revolutionised. The Western democracies fear an attack on their free communities by totalitarian power. If either side disarmed, the other would—for a time at any rate—conquer. It would not be pleasant for Western Europe to be conquered by the Communists. The pacifist who advocates disarmament, is not, if he means what he says, offering an easy nostrum, but calling upon his fellow men to suffer, to accept an evil in the faith that good will ultimately triumph.

That faith is not, we believe, an unreasonable faith. Most men who turn to Communism are men of good will, while many who advocate freedom are selfish men, eager to acquire or keep for themselves the privileges that capitalism creates. Men who fight for Communism and the expansion of Russia are more often than not men with a burning passion for justice. We believe the Soviet Union stands for much that is evil, but its cause has an appeal largely to the moral consciousness and humanistic idealism of unselfish men. We believe that the "menace of Communism" is the menace of good intentions perverted by fear. Remove the fear and the zeal for justice which at present animates so many Communists even in their most savage deeds may ultimately be elevated and enabled. So much at any rate a pacifist may feel entitled to hope, even though he continues to emphasise the central importance of suffering.

The "easy ways" that the Western world has tried to follow since the Renaissance have proved in fact to be not so easy after all; they have brought us now, quite literally, to the brink of destruction. Pacifism recommends a hard way and that, too, may lead to destruction. But it may prove in the long run, for the world as it so often proves for the individual, that the hardest course will bring the highest dividend of happiness. That is as yet an article of faith. Still it is one that may find a response in the minds of many men and women who are disillusioned with ideologies which promise everything and demand nothing. Pacifism asks for everything and promises nothing. Promises nothing, that is, but suffering and a belief that suffering may lead in the end to salvation.

Letters from Denmark—1

Where Dr. Joad was wrong

THE other day I picked up a copy of *The Times*. It was the first I had seen since I left England, and I would never have believed that I could scan those solemn columns so lightly. I even perused the smaller items on page three, which at home I generally overlook. And there something caught my eye:

"London's litter," I read, "is causing concern to the authorities who administer open-air resorts.... Ratepayers foot a yearly bill of many hundreds of pounds for wages of staffs needed to restore tidiness in the parks during summer months. Much of the litter is discarded within a few feet of wire baskets...."

As I read, my mind flew back to Bank Holiday Monday (the occasion of the *Times*' article). For I too had been among the thousands bathing and sun-bathing and sucking ices on the sea-shore that day. Only this year it was the sea-shore at Klampenborg, the Southend of Copenhagen—a lovely, silvery-sandy shore, with a sea so clear you could swim far out and still see the bottom, and the sea-weeds snaking up from it. I had been forming my first impressions of Denmark.

Not unnaturally (in such circumstances), they were highly favourable. For one thing, the Danes are a good-looking people, and nowhere have I seen so many beautiful children. Moreover, splashing about in the water or patting sand-castles—flaxen-headed, golden-brown with sunburn and entirely naked why should little boys and girls be draped in dripping rags?), they seemed entirely and serenely happy. There was none of the fever and the fret of Margate on a summer afternoon. I don't know the Danish word for "spank" but I am sure it was very seldom used; and as for the action—the only approach to it was that of two small girls contentedly spanking the ample and shining bottom of a bronze Venus.

MILLION BICYCLES

However, what impressed me most was the spectacle of one toddler—she couldn't have been more than three—floundering half the length of the beach to deposit a single toffee paper

in a wire basket! When the sun dropped behind the Deer Forest, and the hundreds of families proceeded to their bicycles (the *Guide* tells me there are over a million bicycles in Denmark, and I can well believe it), there was the sea-shore at Klampenborg just as silver-sandy as it had been at daybreak—not a scrap of paper, not a peel, a bottle, even a fag-end in sight!

Not being a professional reporter, I am unprepared to pass judgment on

By F. A. LEA

Editor of *Peace News*, who is visiting the Scandinavian countries.

The Danish Character after less than a fortnight in Zealand. Prof. Joad, if I remember rightly, pronounced the Danes entirely passionless—God's frozen people": my own impression is quite the reverse, but then I am not Prof. Joad. What I should be tempted to say, however, is that the Danes have acquired a standard of self-control in the common interest, a sense of responsibility towards the community, which is still very deficient in most of the citizens, including the intellectuals, of the mass-democracies of the West.

REAL COMMUNITIES

Perhaps I am reading too much into a comparatively trifling contrast. But I don't think so. For the Danish towns and villages—even Copenhagen, though, with a population of a million, it is exceptional—are still small enough to be called "communities," and to be experienced as such. Both the impersonality and the vulgarity of the "man" are absent in consequence.

In Copenhagen there is a famous pleasure ground, The Tivoli. Here thousands flock every warm summer evening from seven o'clock until midnight. The attractions make almost an *embarras de richesse*. There are restaurants galore, where you may sit inside with music or outside under the

ing a true "People's Army," which is training young peasants and workers as officers. Such an army would only fight for the independence of its country. A People's Army could never be moved into action against the Hungarian people as happened many times in Horthy Hungary.

I feel it is necessary to state that the Hungarian people do not want war, but they are afraid of the dangers of a possible conflict. I hope you will admit that a certain section of the American and British press is responsible for the war scare and that

LETTERS

among other nations, Hungary also does not want to be caught quite unprepared in a conflict it is trying to avoid.

The denunciation of General Palfy as a Horthy officer is unjustified because it does not take into account his leading role in the underground resistance movement against the Germans and the Horthy regime. Risking not only his freedom but also his life he took over with him a whole division to the liberation forces—the Red Army. He and some of his colleagues worked fearlessly in the resistance movement when not a single Hungarian pacifist raised his voice against the war or participated effectively in the underground movement against the Germans and the Horthy regime.

NICHOLAS SZUSZ.

Director, Hungarian News and Information Service.

Propaganda

I WAS interested to read Gwyneth Anderson's letter in the current issue of *Peace News*.

Following a recent open-air meeting at Lincoln's Inn Fields the *Peace News* seller was approached by a member of the audience, a young man in RAF uniform, who stated that this was the first time he had heard the pacifist case put forward and that it had given him "much food for thought." If these meetings are attended by such people who might not otherwise get the opportunity of hearing the case for pacifism, they are in my humble opinion, very much worth-while.

FREDA FRIEDMAN.

London, N.W.2.

PPU IS GROWING

IT is encouraging to report an increase in our membership list. Almost every post brings an enquiry from a prospective member and we are planning to produce some new and appropriate pamphlets for distribution to these good folk.

The pamphlets will, of course, cost money. I feel sure that you will agree with me that this is an important aspect of our work and once more we look to you for aid.

MAUD ROWNTREE,
Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions since Aug. 6: £2 9s. 4d.
Total for 1948: £114 18s. 8d.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

trees; sheltered seats, where young couples and old mingle contentedly; ponds to row on, fountains changing their colours all the time, fireworks, dancing, conjuring and acrobatic displays. In addition, there is all the equipment of a Butlin's Holiday Camp, from sportsdromes to a Great Wheel, brightly illuminated against the sky. (Yet the very mention of Butlin's must sound incongruous to anyone who has visited the Tivoli. There is an ease, a leisureliness—I would say a temperance, did the word not call up visions so wonderful, and inappropriate to a country free even from the curse, or necessity, of licensing hours—which I cannot imagine elsewhere. And the throng, which shrieks loudly enough on the giant switch-back, hushes as it drifts near the stand where a symphony orchestra is playing the Overture to A Midsummer Night's Dream.

SEED OR FLOWER?

Whether the instinctive self-control I have referred to is the seed or the fine flower of Denmark's exemplary co-operative and democratic institutions, or whether, as seems more probable, it is both, I feel pretty sure that they are intimately related. And if our intellectuals could overcome their own vulgarity sufficiently to stop prostrating before the merely Big—before Russia and America, for example—I think they might learn something from communities which long since embarked on our "great experiment" of combining freedom with planning, and have already proved it possible.

South Africa

HERE, in South Africa there is only one white person against four coloured ones, in all variations. If South Africa should grant the vote to the native population, the whites would be outvoted four to one, in any election. In no time Parliament would be four-fifths coloured. South Africa would be a second Liberia.

Is this what you want when you say that South Africa puts the clock back? (*Peace News*, June 4).

Moreover, the native does not really want the vote, and when he gets it, he sells to the highest bidder, preferably for liquor. He is used to an arbitrary government and to blind obedience. "Apartheid" will form "black" states—under black rulers—in confederation with "white" states. Whites may go there, stay there; but they can never become citizens of the black states. Coloured persons can go and work, and live in the "white" states, but they will never get the vote there.

Apartheid will save South Africa. Dr. Malan and his team will lead this country of sun and real freedom from strength to strength. They will show the world how a small, highly religious, and white population, with wisdom and energy, can educate and lead the four times stronger native peoples, developing both, white and coloured, in their own ways and to their own advantage.

TOM EVERARD.

South Africa.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

HOW WAR RESISTERS WERE RE-UNITED

by Frank Dawtry

THEY came from Argentina and New Zealand, from Norway and India, from Germany, America and many other countries—the war resisters of the world. They came by land and sea, by air and hitch-hike; some were months on the way and some had only a bus journey, but they all arrived at Albrighton Hall, Shrewsbury, for the first conference since 1937 of the War Resisters' International.

There were many grand reunions after eleven years which for some had meant great loneliness and endurance, imprisonment, exile and suffering. But there was not a face without a smile as the Conference gathered in a fellowship which was a renewal of life. We remembered, all the same, some who could not come, some who were lost, and many who had died but left the purpose of their lives still with us.

How can it all be put in words? In truth, it cannot.

A diary might record events from Laurence Housman's opening greeting as President, to a packed farewell social in London a week later.

Pages might be filled with sketches of the people taking part; of Robert Porchet, fifteen years on Devil's Island for his persistent resistance to conscription; of Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, lucid, brilliant, humorous, friend and true disciple of Gandhi; of grand Scandinavians full of

serenity strengthened by experience; of dear little Regi Hesse, a child when our bombs were falling, now with her German colleagues joining us again in the fight against war; of Bent Andresen, who took upon himself the conscience of the American nation when the atom bomb fell, and was on hunger strike for seven months; of dozens more as brave and good to know. And of Runham Brown, chief architect and father of the International, now with infinite patience taking the chair through the Conference.

Still more pages could report the speeches; and secret pages tell of the conversations, the midnight arguments and gossip, the dancing, music and laughter.

WHAT IT MEANT

Events, people, speeches . . . none of them could convey what the Conference really meant, for it was more than a conference, more than a meeting. It was a gathering of kindred spirits and we left it aware of strengthened spirit rather than of new knowledge or ideas. The feeling which sent the delegates back round the world so happy to have met can, and with faith will, spread from the 135 friends there to all quarters of the globe. Their lives cannot be unaffected by their experience and as their lives are affected so in small or large measure will the whole world be influenced.

This indeed was the prime lesson of the Conference, and particularly of the outstanding address, given on Sunday by Dr. Kumarappa to open a day devoted to the memory of Gandhi. War, he said, was but the final culmination of violence. As the pennies make the pounds, so do all the acts of violence in the world make the ultimate violence, and so will the ultimate renunciation of violence be achieved by the contributions of the many small acts of such renunciation in every individual life,

at every point. Political arrangements while violence remains will not take us far, and he showed in fresh and unmistakable fashion how the growth of industry, the ruin of the land, the profit motive, were all fostering violence and were themselves violent. Material values must give way to simplicity and satisfaction of the spirit as the only bases of true peace.

FROM BERLIN

A paper from Berlin emphasised that mutual understanding and appreciation are the only means of relieving the strained condition of Europe today. Confidence, the vital need, is something the pacifists must help to restore.

World Government was discussed, and so was non-violent direct action against war and war preparations; and a world charter for conscientious objectors.

We had news of war resisters all over the world, of the revived pacifist movement in Italy, Austria and Germany, reports of its rebuilding in Scandinavia, Belgium, France, Holland, of its campaigns in America and Australia, its small beginning in South America, its difficulties in Palestine. There were superlatively honest reports of activity during Nazi occupation, given by men who refused to make the facts fit their theories. Finally, we had an informal discussion of points arising from the earlier sessions. We finished with a blessing from Runham Brown who ended as he had begun, reminding the Conference that quality, brains, love and enthusiasm still count for everything in the world.

At this Conference, war resistance was never a mere rejection of war; it was expressed as a manifest determination to show that the way of peace can succeed where the way of war has so lamentably failed.

But its essence escapes the pen. As individuals we met; united in purpose and affection we said goodbye.

by Rev. Ashton Jones

III. The dangers of a cult

This is the third of Mr. Jones's articles on the Bruderhof at Paraguay. Written in collaboration with his wife, this article discusses the weaknesses and faults of the community's organisation.

their actual deeds as by their "customs" and "costumes." This we gathered from conversations with different individuals outside the group during our four-day wait in Asuncion and also in other places.

Nor are we convinced that communal cooking and eating (especially in such large groups) are or should be an essential phase of "living in community." On occasions, definitely yes and frequently! We are open to conviction on this point, but we now feel quite convinced it is not necessary to efficient living together. We recognise the necessity for all individuals to share the work of community commensurate with their abilities. In the Bruderhof we find a tendency towards the breakdown of "family life." This, as in our modern industrial centres, takes both fathers and mothers from the home; therefore we feel that more family life, "in community" the same as in modern society, is greatly to be desired.

We have mentioned the meetings held daily and bi-weekly. To all visitors these meetings are "closed" until such time as the visitors seem quite likely to become members. We wonder why it would not be helpful for a prospective member to attend these meetings? No doubt, methods of handling vital problems would surely be of great importance to such an individual's ultimate decision, since he would be required to put into the community himself and all his possessions.

For all our criticisms, we wish to assure the reader that we give tre-

mendous credit to this Bruderhof for the progress they have made in the poorest country in South America, the most difficult place in which to make a living.

POWER COMPLEX

We do feel that while the Bruderhof way of "Life in Community" is surely a long step in the direction of solving the social and economic problems of the world, the final answer is still found wanting. We are all human and make many mistakes, but when anyone assumes authority over others, there is always the possibility of developing a "power complex." Actually, in practice, the leaders employ autocratic and totalitarian methods over members—and visitors. "Yes, we are totalitarian, but not like Hitler's totalitarianism. Ours comes from another source," one leader said to us.

In view of this statement, the criticisms which have come to us from close observers and our own personal experiences, we wonder if it would not be very easy, even in the Bruderhof, for certain members to assume the role of supreme authority over the lives of others—purporting to get their authority from another source—God, if you will. Any such group of leaders, be they political, secular, or religious, often cease to function as socially-minded beings and are apt to become unintentional slave drivers even within the framework of an otherwise good plan. The whole life of the community is consumed in a regime of forced labour which leaves no time for individual interests, and makes one feel imprisoned, as indeed members actually are.

We are impressed by the statement of a neighbour who said: "I would not wish to do anything to remove them, but would like to do something to improve them." And how true it is, there is always room for that, no matter who we are or what the group may be.

SAID AT SHREWSBURY

By Runham Brown :
(Chairman)

"We are not the whole but a part of the great mass mind that is moving towards something better. We think, and I believe, that we are a very important part, but never let us think that we are going to put the whole world right and we alone. We have got to join our very important part to all kinds of urges that are moving in this world for better things, and I would remind you of what Mahatma Gandhi said on one occasion—I am quoting from memory, 'If one man could live the highest type of love, it would be sufficient to neutralise the hatred of millions.' We must never measure ourselves by numbers. It is quality, it is brains, it is courage, it is truth and love which count in this universe, and not the great mass of brute strength and violence. I believe that from this day we have begun to say something more constructive than mere war resistance. . . .

"We are going forward from this day as optimists with a courage and with a faith that the world will move on, that the flowing tide is with us, and that we can add our weight to that great surge that will bring us to a better and a new world."

By Karl Struve :
(German delegate)

"It is with a profound sense of humiliation that I have to acknowledge the forgiving, the loving and overwhelmingly generous help all our former enemies have extended to Germany. Well the damage is done! We in Germany are the people least able to mend it. All that is in our power is to extend our hands to you, asking you to accept whatever little help we may be able to give to your great work."

By Joan Dark :
(British delegate)

"It is the responsibility of England, represented by the military government in Germany to act in a humane and progressive manner, to show Germany that we do not believe in revenge, that we are not going to continually remind them of what they have done, but to illustrate by our example a charitable and helpful way of life to the mutual benefit of both Germans and English: shortly our task is to give every encouragement for the establishment of democracy in Germany and peace in the world."

By Stuart Morris :
(British delegate)

"WE should be doing a disservice to the German people to pretend that they have no responsibility for what has happened. We do ourselves a disservice if we are not willing to acknowledge our own responsibility. Our German friends are not here out of mere graciousness: our German friends are here by right. It is only in that mutual acceptance of the responsibility we all share that the best basis of renewed fellowship will be found."

SCOTTISH PLAN FOR GERMAN CHILDREN

A PLAN for German children to be received in the United Kingdom as guests of British families on temporary visits has been put forward by the Peace Centre at No. 44 Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

The Save the Children Fund and "Save Europe Now" movement is being invited to initiate the scheme, but, in the meantime, the Scottish Peace Centre is offering to co-operate with other local bodies in a campaign to secure approval for the project.

SEN and BERLIN

"Save Europe Now," in its latest bulletin, announces its decision to send no food relief to Berlin. The committee states:

"We feel that the feeding of Berlin is a responsibility of the three Allied Governments and one which they have accepted. Relief food could only take up space from supplies being sent by the Governments and could not alter the overall situation. Finally the situation is so much a political one that it would be very difficult to associate relief with it unpolitically. For three years we have urged that Germany and other ex-enemy peoples should be treated as human beings. We do not want now to suggest that they must be fed for reasons largely political."

THE BRUDERHOF COMMUNITY

IN this, the third instalment of our Bruderhof story, we feel, after serious reflection, that we should set down and share with our readers the several criticisms that have occurred to us. They concern not the essentials of communal living, but the external circumstances of this particular Bruderhof in Paraguay.

Doubtless it is entirely advisable that those living in Community adopt a more or less uniform mode of attire. But, where members must struggle to make ends meet financially and economically, it seems to us the utmost folly to adopt any particular mode of dress—peasant or otherwise—which requires cloth for one garment sufficient to supply at least two individuals with ample clothing.

Aside from the actual cost of material for the near-floor-length and very full dress and pinafore, while it does perhaps protect one from a few insect bites it is far from sanitary. Add to this the three-cornered scarf worn on the head of the women folk (from the youngest tots to the grandmothers), from dawn to dark both indoors and out. It is worn, not only as a protection from the sun, which is very necessary, but it is a very definite part of their communal living.

WHY BEARDS?

The men grow beards—"Not because it is more comfortable and/or less bother not to shave, but because it is the way God created them, therefore it is more natural." To carry this argument to its logical conclusion and as a matter of simple reasoning, all the people (men and women alike) must allow the hair on the head to grow "naturally," and also cast off all clothing—to be in complete accord with God's creation.

The fact is that the Bruderhof has adopted certain "customs" and "costumes." It is definitely a cult. They are known outside the group not so much by their philosophy and

A page about Democracy

I. CAN WE INVIGORATE IT?

HOW can public opinion become a more effective factor in shaping Government policies?

This is a vital issue for all democrats, particularly in view of the threat of war.

Apart from the time-honoured, but rather ineffective, tactics of writing to MPs and signing petitions, the average elector can at present merely express his preference—normally only once every five years—for a party's policy—and then trust it to fulfil its election pledges when in power. But, he has no real guarantee that it will do so, or, even, that it will not follow policies contrary to its whole past record.

Too often, Governments on gaining a General Election majority act as though this were a blank cheque conferring unlimited power.

Increased democratic control over Foreign Policy is clearly needed if war is to be averted. In the past the Cabinet has had virtually supreme power in this sphere, and has even led Britain into major wars without consultation with Parliament or people.

It was a Secret Cabinet pledge to defend France which committed the country to the 1914-18 war, and other secret pacts signed during that war undertook to support far-reaching territorial changes in Turkey, the Adriatic Sea, and East Africa. As late as 1935, the Hoare-Laval Plan for Abyssinia was an attempt to carry out our secret wartime pledge to Italy. The immediate cause of the recent war can also be traced to sudden action by the Cabinet without seeking Parliament or popular sanction.

NO CONSULTATION

The Chamberlain Government's military guarantee in 1939 to fight Germany if she invaded Poland was given before MPs had even considered the possibility of such action—and Parliament was thus confronted with a *fait accompli*. So grave an act—which the late Earl Lloyd-George and leading military experts considered strategic folly—should have had the most thorough Parliamentary consideration if necessary in secret session. Similarly, in 1943, Parliament was never consulted before this country was committed to the grave course of requiring the unconditional surrender of Germany and her Allied States, a policy which History may judge severely.

Must the tragedies of the past be repeated in the Atomic Age? Britain's electors have surely the right to decide where their country shall stand in the event of a Russian-American war. Or do our political and military leaders intend to involve us automatically on the American side, in face of an Atomic menace which may well mean the extermination of the British people?

Proposals which would place British Foreign Policy under far greater democratic control, outlined long ago by the late Lord Ponsonby, deserve renewed consideration. Here, I suggest, are the minimum safeguards, based largely on Lord Ponsonby's proposals.

- 1 Power to declare war to be transferred from the Crown to Parliament—war declarations to require a two-thirds majority in both Houses.
- 2 No Alliance or commitment with Foreign Powers to be entered into without Parliament's express consent. All treaties shall require Parliamentary sanction for their clauses as well as formal ratification, which shall also call for a two-thirds majority.
- 3 A Foreign Affairs Committee representing MPs of all parties to be set up, which shall consider all foreign policy legislation before this can reach the House itself. Standing committees of this type are an important feature of the American Constitution and, as in that country, might also be established here to watch the activities of all important Government departments. Such action would help relieve the present pressure of legislation in the House of Commons.

Consideration should also be given to the advisability of making a national referendum essential before a declaration of war can be made. For, if there is one issue on which the electors are entitled to speak

—asks **GEORGE FRANK**, who argues that the suffrage is not enough.

their mind it is war—and all that atomic war means.

Parallel with these steps further innovation should be introduced to ensure that public opinion may continuously exercise its rightful role in shaping Government policies. The underlying problem of British politics today is that consultation with the electorate is too infrequent for effective democratic control to be maintained.

Many times under Britain's present electoral system the voter has only two candidates to choose from—and often merely plumps for what may appear "the lesser evil" without any real confidence in him. Too often, in effect, the votes for "party labels" and personalities rather than for actual policies.

DR. GALLUP'S PLAN

An interesting proposal which would resolve this difficulty has been made by the public opinion analyst, Dr. G. H. Gallup. At each General Election, he urges, the elector should also be able to record his views in a separate ballot on all the most important current issues.

Though Dr. Gallup stresses that

such a referendum would be purely advisory, there would no longer be any excuse for a Government mistaking the mood of the country on any major issue, and it would be a very brave Ministry which ignored the results.

Perhaps, the idea could also be extended so that a Government could "sample" public opinion on any new issue arising between Elections. From the strength of feeling on any particular proposal, the Government would know how far it was prudent to go.

An issue where such a test would have been useful was that of continuing military conscription in peace time, for which the Labour Party had no Mandate—and which the Gallup Poll found was opposed by thirty-seven per cent. of the electorate.

The method of advisory referenda would clearly be more satisfactory than a "hit and miss" General Election, when emotional and other external considerations often sway voting. Apathy at the polls—the bane of party managers—should disappear with the chance for the elector not merely to vote for an MP, but to express his own views with the knowledge that they will carry weight. Such a system would also probably modify the present need for an effective Second Chamber, since the will of the people could be

THE VOICE OF EXPERIENCE

IT would never occur to me, after two years as a private in the Army, to attempt to improve the character of my son by putting him in the care of a marine sergeant. Education, it would seem, can best be conducted in institutions established for the purpose by persons who have dedicated their lives to the cause.

The Army can train men to be soldiers, just as engineering plants can train men to be mechanics. Neither armies nor engineering plants can train men to be men.

The soldier is told what to do, and he soon learns not to do anything he is not told to do. Only if we want a race of men who will do what they are told and will not do anything they are not told should we look to Universal Military Training to build character.

—Dr. Robert Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

readily consulted without electioneering hurly-burly.

Together, such referenda and greater democratic control over foreign policy would give the electorate a real voice in determining their own destiny.

2. A CANADIAN EXPERIMENT

Seven Years of "Farm Forum"

IN a recent issue of Peace News, Maurice Cranston suggested that the Gallup Polls, as scientific devices for ascertaining public opinion, were "mischievous and bogus." He thought the referendum the only sure way of discovering majority opinion, and added that it was going out of fashion.

He may be right.

It is certain that if democracy means government by the people we can only move towards it by developing a method and means whereby the people may be educated and encouraged to examine public issues and express judgment. That is a large order.

Something has been developing in Canada during recent years, however, which suggests that it is not quite so Utopian as it might seem. I refer to the Radio Farm Forum and the Radio Citizenship Forum.

The Farm Forum was the first experiment in functioning democracy. Not that it intended anything so ambitious. The Canadian Federation of Agriculture, The Adult Education Association and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation got together seven years ago, in a scheme whereby the farmers of Canada would study their own problems, join in group discussion, and report their findings.

PLENTY OF GRIEVANCES

Farmers here as in other countries have plenty of grievances, and air them forcibly enough across fences; but the question was: would they submit to the discipline of group discussion? The event showed that they would—more or less, and as time went on it became more rather than less, until now the Farm Forum has become an established institution in rural life.

For three and a half months each winter farm communities meet once a week, men and women and young people, in each other's homes, to listen to the broadcast programme and then discuss the questions raised and formulate their considered judgment. Reports go to provincial offices and are quoted in succeeding broadcasts. It is always an interesting moment when a group hears its name mentioned on the air and its collective wisdom quoted.

Following the business there is sometimes a recreation period, but always the inevitable "refreshments," which can on occasion amount to something less than a banquet but

more than just snack with a cup of coffee. Even then the affair is not over, most of the group remaining for general conversation to a late or perchance an early hour. The farmer's asset that the Farm Forum has recovered for them something valuable that had been lost, to their impoverishment, since pioneering days, namely the social mixing known as "neighbouring."

More or less by accident it was discovered by the powers that be, that the collated judgment of Canadian Farmers could be useful for encouragement, guidance, or correction in the conduct of the nation's business. For some years a general report of farm opinion has been forwarded to the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa weekly.

The success of the Farm Forum led to a similar Labour Forum, and then to the Citizenship Forum. In the latter, matters of more general interest and import to citizens as such are dealt with. Here too reports are sent in weekly and briefly reported on by radio the next week. Monthly a

general report is given comparing the opinion of the provinces.

Citizenship Forum groups number anything from 3 to 50 or more, 12 being a useful size. They meet in private homes as neighbours, in churches, libraries, school premises, wherever a radio is available. They too have cultivated neighbourliness, of the mind rather than socially. The mere courteous expression of mixed, sometimes opposite opinions, has an inevitably modifying effect which is all to the good.

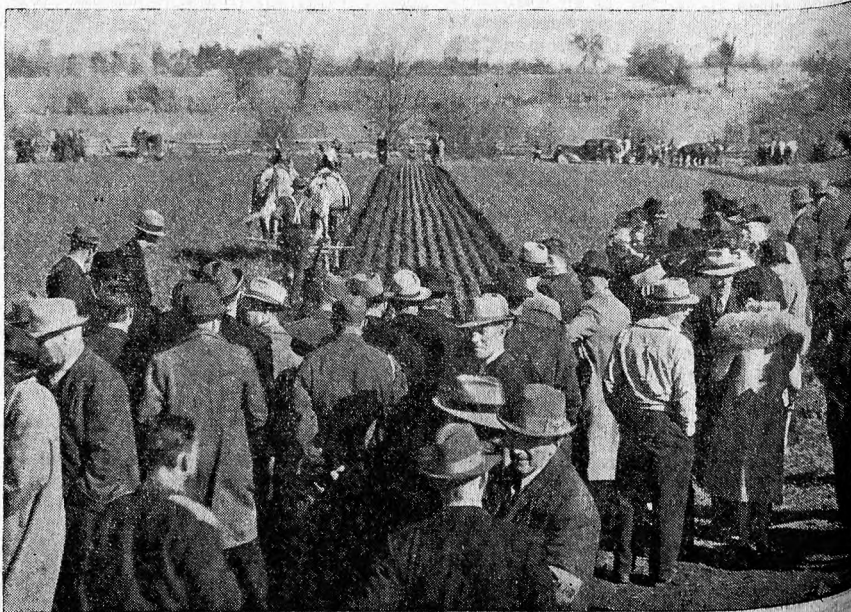
The Citizens' Forum impresses one strongly with the feeling that, carried out systematically across Canada, with reports collated in the provincial offices and compared in a Canada-wide review, the considered judgment of the total citizenship in a usefully representative degree could easily and quickly be obtained. Combined with the introduction in the public schools of a course on elementary sound thinking, one could envisage the evolution of a genuine democracy of the future, with a people informed, capable of detecting fallacies and of forming objective judgment. The ancient vision of a people as a whole exercising the privilege and power of self-government ceases to be Utopian, and comes into the realm of practical possibility.

Canada's experiments in functioning democracy have lessons for other countries, too.

REV. R. EDIS FAIRBAIRN

In Eastern Canada

where rolling prairies, giant ploughs and isolation are not part of the farming scene, Farm Forum preserves through the winter the friendly rivalry and neighbourliness of the ploughing match.



MUSIC & DRAMA

Little Theatre - Global Outlook

Edited by
Roger Page

SUTTON COLDFIELD, with its population of something under 40,000, serves largely as a residential area for Birmingham, and for that reason is sometimes denied a separate identity—although its history goes back at least as far as Birmingham's, and the Domesday and other evidence does not suggest that Birmingham was always thought the most important town in the district.

In industrial matters Sutton cannot now challenge her big sister, but in other matters she has a healthy and independent life of her own. Being a mere half-dozen miles from Birmingham she could be excused if she were content to act the satellite in theatrical matters; but in fact the Highbury Little Theatre in Sutton Coldfield must rank as one of the best amateur enterprises in the country.

3,000 MEMBERS

It is a tiny private membership theatre "devoted primarily to the presentation of plays that cannot normally be seen in the commercial theatre." The building is also used for concerts, recitals, lectures, specialised film shows, and for the work of a Student Group. There is an audience-membership of over three thousand—each paying a small subscription—and the work is done by about a hundred volunteers. The theatre was built during the years 1937 to 1942 entirely by the voluntary labour of the acting company and technicians. The money for the building was raised by small subscriptions from individual people. Because all expenditure was limited to material alone, the initial cost of the building was a little under £1,000. Approximately another £1,000 has since been spent on equipment. Although the theatre is very small—it has seats for only one-hundred-and-eight—it has proved to be financially self-supporting. There is very little profit margin to provide for further expansion, however.

In each season there are four major productions, and the list of plays performed since the theatre was founded makes truly impressive reading. Practically every play has some special quality, and there is none of the pandering to popular

taste, so-called, by the introduction of second-rate items—a habit, unfortunately, of many repertory companies. This does not mean that at Sutton they follow the merely low-brow; but they know that for fun and laughter some of the plays of Goldsmith, Wilde and Shaw, *et hoc genus omne*, can give points to *Up in Annie's Room* or *Whose Husband Are You?*

As much as this, it is true, has been done by other little theatres. But the Highbury Theatre has to its credit an achievement which, although not unique, is certainly rare in the amateur theatre, and deserves to be frequently copied.

Last year they carried out, with great efficiency, a goodwill exchange with a Dutch counterpart—De Planckeniers at Naarden. After presenting in their own theatre *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and *Susanna* they took the two productions over to Holland and had the honour of giving the opening performance at De Planckeniers new theatre. The Dutch company had already visited Sutton for performances of Dr. Planten's *Rembrandt*.

The theatre publishes regularly an interesting magazine, which carries in their current issue a full report of their exchange. The author of this report writes:

"Our first international exchange of theatre companies is over. It has been a great and happy adventure. It is easy to slip into superlatives but we are inclined to say that it has been the greatest event in the history of the Highbury Players. It is certainly the greatest since the opening of our Theatre. We shall long remember the happy times we had with De Planckeniers when they honoured Highbury Theatre by coming to perform Dr. Planten's play 'Rembrandt' on our stage. We shall never forget the delightful times we enjoyed in Holland when they did us the great honour of allowing us to give the first performance in their beautiful new theatre in the woods at Bussum. We can never thank our Dutch comrades enough for all the kindnesses poured on to us. Such hospitality, such comradeship! Every day seemed a delightful dream from which we hoped we should never awake. Well, the dream is over. We are back in our work-a-day world, but we shall treasure our happy memories and fervently hope that this most successful first exchange will soon be repeated."

Let us hope that the wish embodied in the last phrase will soon come to be a reality. It is a truism that there can be no peace without international goodwill, and this goodwill, not always fostered on the political level, can be helped by the free exchange of culture and the arts. Music and painting easily lend themselves to universal exchange, but the drama is less universal in its application, lacking a universal language. There is therefore a great need for enthusiasts like those at Sutton Coldfield, and the other theatrical groups—not forgetting some professional venturers—to make these exchange arrangements as often as possible. "I am sure," the theatre's Treasurer wrote to me "that such exchange visits as we enjoyed cannot help but promote goodwill between nations." Amateur groups up and down the country should follow the example of the Highbury Little Theatre at Sutton Coldfield.

BREVITIES

ALDOUS HUXLEY'S *The Gioconda Smile*, now at the New Theatre, London, is due for transfer soon, and after its move a notice will appear in these columns.

BENJAMIN BRITTEN'S new version of *The Beggar's Opera*, and his opera *Albert Herring* are being given at Sadlers Wells during a short season beginning September 6.

INDIAN BALLET. Readers of this feature will recall previous notices of the dancing of Ram Gopal and his Indian Ballet. This company appears again at the Princes Theatre from August 12-28.

SYBIL THORNDYKE has been appearing continuously in Priestley's *The Linden Tree* for over a year. Neither she nor her husband, Sir Lewis Casson, has missed a single performance.

THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR. On the Third Programme tomorrow, Paul Raynal's anti-war play is being given the third of three performances.

BROADCASTS ON WAR AND PEACE

SIR WILLIAM HALEY recently declared that the aim of the BBC was not to pass on ready-made opinions, but to stimulate thinking by listeners. Minority opinions would not be ignored as the cranks of today might be the prophets of tomorrow.

Last Sunday three broadcasts made some attempt to fulfil Sir William's aim. They were a religious talk by Maude Brayshaw, a Quaker; a play about early Christians by Naomi Mitchison and John Gielgud, and an introductory talk by St. John Ervine on three war plays which are scheduled for presentation.

St. John Ervine's talk was a brilliant criticism of war plays as means of preventing war. In particular, Mr.

Ervine, who is neither pacifist nor socialist, flayed Somerset Maugham's play *For Services Rendered*. Readers may remember that the failure of this play on the London stage was so bitter a disappointment to the author, that he resolved never again to write another. St. John Ervine argued that it was a mischievous illusion that acquaintance with the beastliness of war prevented people from following their leaders when the call came.

This applied to the greatest plays, like *The Trojan Woman* of Euripides, as well as to a modern pacifist play like Paul Raynal's *Unknown Warrior*.

R.L.
(Peace News will next week publish a critical article on the three broadcast war plays—Ed.)

Pacifist Profiles-III

WHEN Diderich Hegermann Lund was twenty-one, in 1909, he made the first ascent of Mont Blanc on ski. Later, as a professional engineer, he worked for 20 years to help the Swiss build tunnels through the Alps. But he is a Norwegian by birth, a native of Oslo, and English pacifists know him best for his pamphlet about the second world war, *Resistance in Norway*.

Lund was very active in the movement for non-violent resistance to the Germans in Norway. The Nazis jailed him in 1941, but in 1944 he escaped to Sweden and then to England. In December, 1944, he returned to Finnmark on reconstruction projects and was director there from 1944 to 1947.



DIDERICH LUND

"It was through reading Romain Rolland that I came to be a pacifist," he once explained. "Rolland's *Clerembault* and *Gandhi* taught me the possibility of non-violent resistance as an alternative to brutal force. Later I was influenced by Schweitzer's writings and the work of Ceresole."

Diderich Lund has been a member of the Norwegian peace movement since 1922 and of the WRI since its Norwegian section was started.

COLD CURE FOR WAR

"Peterborough," in the Daily Telegraph, reports from New Jersey that: "America's nudists closed their convention after adopting a resolution saying that nudism could produce world peace because, if armies did not wear clothes, it would be impossible for fighters to recognise their enemies."

Next Week

Reports of the peace movement in many lands. Cartoon by Mays. Commentary by Cyril Hughes.

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NEWMAN TURNER (Editor)

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

MICHAEL TIPPETT will welcome guests at PPU London Area Group Party, King Alfred's School, North End Rd., N.W.11, Saturday, Aug. 28, 3 p.m. Competitions, for-
tune telling, games for the children, sing and buy stall, music, tea.
Entrance 1s., children 6d. (Party indoors if wet).

MAURICE ROWNTREE Memorial Bazaar, Sunday, Aug. 29, tea arranged. 9.24 a.m. King's Cross, 9.58 a.m. Gordon Hill, arrive Hertford North 10.30 a.m.

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LITERATURE, &c.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES should have Glasfurd's "Voyage to Berbera" (Sheppard Press, 9s. 6d.). Has yours?

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Bunton Rd., London.

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Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

FIGURINE ARTIST (MA pacifist) requires girl assistant: painting, casting, travelling. Later Continental tour projected. Box 932.

ASSISTANT WANTED for Invalid Foods, age 20-30. Typewriting essential, but previous experience unnecessary. Single bedroom provided, London area. Send full particulars. Box 934.

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What Sir Stafford cannot see

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

outspoken, sincere and courageous, he fearlessly emphasises the importance of spiritual and religious values, yet he completely fails to realise that the nature of the industrialism he so devoutly extols is destructive of these values, and the chief cause of the failure to reach his output targets.

He works like a Trojan, but conditions are against him, both economic and spiritual, and until he realises this, and the root cause, his failure will continue.

Primary producers say no

SIR Stafford would appear to be unaware that the outstanding fact in current world economics is the unproclaimed revolt of the primary producing countries against the financial and economic dictatorship of a handful of Western Powers, and that these countries are determining their economic policies, even cutting down their imports of consumer goods to the minimum, by the determination to import maximum quantities of machinery in order to regain their economic freedom by the establishment of a high level of self-sufficiency.

The consequent rise in the world's industrial production, together with an enduring world food shortage problem, signifies two things: First, that world markets in secondary products will tend to contract from now on; and second, that Britain is in the unfortunate position of having to sell cheap and buy dear.

A silent spiritual revolt

MUCH more astonishing is Sir Stafford's unawareness of the unexpressed revolt of the average industrial worker against the spiritual servitude of modern industrialism with its consequent soul starvation. It is incredible that with all his power of spiritual perception, Cripps should be the arch apostle of maximum specialisation in the interest of quantitative output, and not realise that this process is producing a condition of social sickness which can best be described as a spiritual deficiency disease. The victims of this disease are unable to give maximum output. As no spiritual satisfaction is to be derived from repetitive processes, money is the only reward of the worker, who is thus condemned to a materialistic existence. Yet Cripps expects to gather spiritual fruit from this arid desert of materialism. In a materialistic civilisation life fails when money, or the power to buy goods and pleasures, fails, whence the social and economic structure creaks and cracks and finally disintegrates.

We are here up against ultimate reality—the nature of man and the content of his life. If we treat man as a machine he will ultimately run down and stop, while what steam there is left in him may explode.

The brochure: the "Target," which Sir Stafford has sent out to 12,000 industrial firms declares that "it is impossible to over-estimate the value of a sense of purpose and mutual confidence between management and work-people."

That is true, but a greater man than us all once said: "We are workers together with God: ye are God's building." But he had in mind the building of the Kingdom of Heaven, not robots, acres of squalid cities and atomic piles.

World government

THESE reflections are closely related to others which arose out of events at the WRI Conference. I there listened to an address on World Government by one of its leading exponents. What I heard literally left me gasping. We were asked to believe that a world parliament could be set up within a few years, that it could and would legislate in terms of world justice, from which would follow the abolition of national sovereignties, world disarmament and thus world peace.

Reflecting on this miraculous process I thought of the 40 trading agreements which two days before the Secretary of the Board of Trade said had recently been made with various countries, thus securing our markets and food and raw material supplies, agreements such that many countries, including France and Ger-

many, were not in a position to make. I also thought of the enormous fortunes which had been made in the U.S. as a result of the skyrocketing of food and raw material prices, and how this had prevented half the world from buying American goods, and had undermined the credit which Britain had negotiated with the U.S. Would the New Justice prevent such happenings, step in and control the internal policies of the more powerful states?

I knew the answers to these questions only too well. It is good to throw our eyes to the ends of the earth, but fatal to lose the power to read the signs of the times. The speaker assumed a world spiritual revolution which was to take place almost overnight, whereas the signs of the times are all against it.

The roots of pacifism

THIS issue carries us to the roots of pacifism. The conclusion to which my thinking has brought me is that pacifism can only exist in the structure of life itself, in the conduct, habits and ends of persons, and in the objectives and policies of nations. It must radiate from the individual person into the family and the neighbourhood, and from the nation into its international relationships. If Socialism democratises the profit motive of capitalism in high standards of material living, it will drive the worker into a spiritual wilderness and itself into a self-destroying power politics.

War and materialism thus become inherent in the social system. So long as this condition remains it is futile to seek peace through the operations and enactments of International organisations. If national Parliaments cannot be restrained from pursuing power politics, how can international Parliaments be effective instruments of peace, especially when their strongest members hold the keys of financial and economic power?

The foundations of peace

IT is to me as clear as daylight that the foundations of peace are in the spiritual values and ends of persons and of states, which will be reflected in industrial and political systems and in international trading policies. These systems must be devised so as to permit the fullest development of human personality, to which end maximum industrial, economic and political responsibility will be accorded to every person, also a culture which has its roots in an essentially religious outlook and seeks to inspire youth to creative living, the pursuit of pulsating spiritual purposes.

These demands will lead to a large-scale decentralisation in every sphere of life and to a close correlation of agriculture and industry, from which will emerge a keen social awareness all round; also to a considerable degree of self-sufficiency in every area, thus narrowing the sphere of international trade to the things which the nations are unable to produce or grow.

A world order of this character will be free from the strains and stresses of today, while the pursuit of vocational ends will direct the minds of men from money values to spiritual and human values.

A disappointment

I WAS therefore intensely heartened and inspired by the illuminating exposition of the Gandhian economy by J. C. Kumarappa, at the WRI Conference. It was a masterly presentation of the case for the culture of human personality through the decentralisation of education, industry, economics and politics, which is the key to the development of a spiritual civilisation and a peaceful world.

But there was no time to discuss it. Here was an outstanding opportunity for a first-class discussion, of bringing Eastern and Western thought to bear on these two ways of procuring peace—through the centralisation of power in a world government, and through building up from the individual person to the state and the world of a life whose nature is peace.

This failure overwhelmed me: I know the matter is to be studied further, but the days are passing, and war resistance is not enough.

LAMBETH CALL for DISARMAMENT

Bishops and World Unity

THE Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops has reaffirmed the 1930 resolution that war "is incompatible with the teaching and example" of Jesus, but adds that "there are occasions when both nations and individuals are obliged to resort to war as the lesser of two evils."

Quakers' Message on East-West Tension

"IT has not been given to us to suggest a new corporate action to relieve the present tension between East and West," W. Maude Brayshaw has written in a minute drawn up for London yearly meeting of the Society of Friends.

"But," the minute continues, "in this time of crisis we have felt constrained to witness to our certainty of the power of God. The life, the loyalty to truth and the self-sacrificing devotion of a Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer have challenged our generation to accept Christ's standard of greatness."

"Our practical work, described in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize as 'the silent help from the nameless to the nameless,' is a first step towards reconciliation and peace-making. But the prevailing sense of fear among men is a measure of man's failure to express the courage, faith and hope of the Gospel so as to reach a generation tired of conventional words yet longing for proof of conviction. Jesus knew a world of evil, hatred and oppression, and when He spoke, the common people heard Him gladly."

"We have seen that reconciliation begins with the candid recognition of fundamental conflicts which lose their sting if men and nations can be persuaded to join in co-operative effort. It is not sufficient for us to forgive evil, still less to overlook it. Peace must be built on the redemption of evil which is only possible through the love and truth of Christ."

MILITARIST WHO BECAME PRIEST

THE Rev. R. H. le Messurier, who was for several years a member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union and a contributor to Peace News died last week at his home in Cornwall.

Father le Messurier was born in Newfoundland. In the first world war he enlisted in the Canadian army, and became a sergeant.

"I was as brutal a sergeant as any private ever suffered under," he once said, "and as savage a militarist as ever existed."

But the experience of war had a profound effect upon him. It made him a staunch and uncompromising pacifist. He took Holy Orders in the Anglican Communion when the war was over, and afterwards worked in poor parishes of Anglo-Catholic traditions. He was active in the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, and served on its Council for many years.

Before he resigned his living four years ago, Father le Messurier was Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras, London. He then went to live at Mevagissey on the Cornish coast, for health reasons.

During the second world war, Fr. le Messurier was an air raid warden in the St. Pancras Borough Service, and was a well-known figure in the King's Cross district, for he never lost an opportunity while assisting in the work of ARP to express his opposition to war. His personality retained the respect of working class people for a point of view which was at the time unpopular.

Father le Messurier had two children, a son and a daughter.

ROSA LOHSE-LINK, German delegate to the WRI Conference, has asked Peace News to make it clear that her criticism of the attitude of Stuttgart Radio to World Peace Day was not intended as a criticism of the American Military Government. The statement "We Germans know that our strength lies in being armed..." should of course have read "unarmed."

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By Appointment

The official Report of the Conference, issued on Wednesday, also contained an affirmation that it was the duty of governments to work for the general reduction and control of armaments and for their final elimination, except those that may be necessary for international police protection.

Other resolutions were:

That the use of atomic energy be brought under such effective international control as to prevent its use as a weapon of war.

That all Christians should unite in working for the reconciliation of nations which have been at war.

That a world policy be framed for the fuller development and juster distribution of the world's economic resources.

The Conference also placed on record its belief that the nations of the world must have an organ of co-operation to which each nation must be ready to yield some of its sovereignty; it suggested that the United Nations might be used, strengthened and improved to that end.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Aug. 20, 1938

A few days ago I was travelling by train through Germany when a young German in the carriage enquired what "PPU" on my badge stood for... He was very interested, even going so far as to ask me for Headquarters' address... finally he begged to be allowed to keep the badge and put it very proudly in his wallet.

There were also in the carriage two high officers of the National Guard who regarded our conversation in English—with much suspicion. My German friend informed me, however, that such people had not the brains to learn English, but could only swear in German!

The Germans have a steady and real affection for the English people, and I am glad that the policy of the PPU and of Peace News is, unlike that of the majority of English newspapers, doing nothing to hinder and everything to increase that affection.

—A correspondent in Germany

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